

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick of the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alternating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced; concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
 821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/gǒo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
 (825) so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, X'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
 (777) they bring luck. When a shooting star, *gomma, falls, it is said,
 (787) just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
 (775) fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

(823) Earthquakes, X'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
 (787) rainbow, !kháni !niáo, indicates a good year for rain.

(782) What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
 (776) rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

- 821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great captain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
- [752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

- 751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[762] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone, [224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and [777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

- 751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[63 cont.]

764
[178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776
777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

(13)

1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa], " Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776
[224]
[782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoqe say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171]
[174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

- 372 *hei-doros*. The new *lou-ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
- 372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *lou-ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
- 372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *lou-ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *lou-ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies *norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
- 184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

- 593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.
- 512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.
- 462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

224 visits a //gāus for this purpose he kindles the /kei-/ais
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *ʔnoc-di* at such times. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *sora* and women may eat the *ʔnoc-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *sora* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the //gāus.

184 *Sora* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *sora*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *sora*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the //gāus, sleep under the /kei as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ointjes, //nōon and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (*braastok*) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Isee*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.¹

The name *gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, *ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.²

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, *Thora* or *Huwe*, and one bad, *Khauna*, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

¹ Op. cit., 410.² Op. cit., 410-11.³ *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167-8.

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RELIGION AND MAGIC

184 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan /*gamab* makes thunder and
 776 lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting
 [821] stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind //*gaua*,
 [825] while sometimes //*gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind.
 [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of
 [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder-
 [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further
 [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and
 may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get
 [753] the general impression of //*gaua* as the source of illness and death,
 acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting
 stars.

184 In all this //*gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the
 776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the
 821 latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths
 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal,
 and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When
 the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirl-
 wind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind
 forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order
 [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also
 [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars;
 shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken
 [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*,
 known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird",
 here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be
 added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are
 said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed
 by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for
 some past misdeed.¹

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, //*gaua* shares
 776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly
 among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does
 not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of
 the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other
 [762] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan
 [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the
 [775] same time the "demiurge" /*gamab* is mentioned as the creator who
 [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, /*gamab*

¹ Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 104.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.¹

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hische* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.²

¹ Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159; Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, 22, 505-7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155-8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28-9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabulary*, 10-11.

² Bleek and Lloyd, *op. cit.*, 365; D. F. Bleek, *op. cit.*, 29.